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procedure to woo her. But it must also be remembered that there exists here, as elsewhere, the always unpredictable element of mutual attraction between two individuals of opposite sex.

ATTRIBUTES OF BEAUTY

In discussing it, whether he is telling about his present love or a past one, or talking more abstractly about women in general, the Lesu man says that what he considers most desirable in a woman is youth, firm, well-developed breasts, and a light-coloured skin. To a woman the desirable qualities in a man are also youth, light-coloured skin, and she prefers men with small eyes and without beards. The natives are keen to discern varying shades of skin colour, and they notice slight variations in shade more sharply than the average white person. Time after time old men informants, in giving me the spells of love magic, told me about the women for whom they formerly practised it, and always they stress the light-coloured skins of their loves as a great attribute of beauty. Young men stress the same point in talking of the girls they now desire.

The reason that both sexes desire their partners to be young is that they are then more vigorous in the sexual act. Particularly do the women stress this point. There is, for example, an attractive young widow named Pengong, with two children. She has made advances to many of the rather young unmarried youths of the village, all of whom have willingly been her lovers, but they refuse to marry her because they say she is too old, while she refuses to marry a man of her own age or older. However, it is doubtful if she will stay unmarried long, and eventually she will probably marry a man of her own age. Brakko, an older woman who remarried after she became a widow, told me frankly that she preferred young men, but that after her first husband

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832 [587] died she married a fairly mature man. She added that she liked him, too.

The firmness of a woman's breasts is much stressed. The breasts are uncovered, and so are very obvious. A middle-aged woman's breasts which hang loosely are not objects of beauty by any aesthetic standards.

832 302 The hair, which is kinky and stands out from the head, is an important factor in beauty, and much time and attention are put on it. The natural colour of the hair is black, but it is very rarely that it is seen in this colour. It is the universal custom for both sexes of all ages to "paint" their hair with powdered white lime, and the result is a great variety in shades of tan, depending on when it was last "painted." [1] The hair is frequently combed, and if a native wants to make himself particularly attractive he spends hours on his hair, combing, "painting" it, etc. A flower behind the ear, a wreath of leaves around the head, are all considered adornments.[2] Practically everyone has lice, and [515] looking for each other's lice is a never-ending pastime between friends. A bald-headed man is considered an object [142] of ridicule and very ugly. He is a most unusual type, and there were none in Lesu. I had for a short time a Papuan cook-boy who was bald. He tried to seduce some of the village women, but without success. They all laughed at him, and mocked him openly for his baldness. He was also short, another point not in his favour. He finally took to boasting of his conquests on other islands where he had worked, but this, too, left the village belles untouched. Women prefer clean-shaven men to bearded ones. In the

[1] For many of the ritual dances the hair is "painted" red or blue. A few of the more sophisticated natives who have been to Rabaul have learned the whitening effect of peroxide, and use it whenever they can procure it.

[2] I gave them some tinsel (Christmas-tree decoration) and gaily coloured crêpe paper. Both were immediately put around the hair in the fashion of a crown and were much in demand.

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past shaving, or rather the extraction of hair, was done with a shark's tooth. It is still used to-day, but when possible a razor blade is obtained from a trader. Finger-nails are shortened by biting them.

In addition to hair decorating there are facial decorations, and the favourite style for both sexes is the painting of a yellow circle around one eye. A broad band of white lime on the forehead is likewise considered attractive. There are other types of facial adornment which are used only in connection with ritual dancing and are described in that context.

The familiar disease, ringworm, makes a person of either sex undesirable for marriage, but not for intercourse. For example, Landa, from the village of Langania, was married when quite young, and her husband died after a brief period. Afterwards she contracted the ringworm disease. For quite a few years now she has been noted for her many lovers, by some of whom she has had children, but none of these lovers will marry her because of her skin disease. The sexual act may be performed with a minimum of body touching, but the men are afraid of catching the disease if they marry her. However, just before I left New Ireland Landa married an elderly man, who, I was told, could get no one else. Aside from the ringworm and a rather large stomach, she was not unattractive, and seemed to have a pleasant and rather vivid personality, and was one of the most energetic and industrious of the women at the communal food preparations.

In general, the physical parts of the body which have aesthetic and sexual attraction for the Melanesian in New Ireland do not differ so much from those of our own culture. They are mainly health, the breasts, the colour of the skin, and the hair. Eyes are also regarded as of importance, and small ones are considered the most attractive.

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Divorce is not exactly common. The two just described were the only ones taking place over an interval of ten and a half months among 232 people.

There are the usual exceptions, and Lumaeris was one of these. He is a middle-aged man who has had ten wives at different times, and here is his tale. When he was a youth of about fifteen he went to the neighbouring island of Tabar, where he lived with a classificatory brother. There he married Malanga, a Tabar girl, and had one child, a boy. Not very long after the birth of the boy, Lumaeris decided he wanted to return to Lesu, but his wife did not want to come. They were divorced, and she remained in Tabar and married another man.

Lumaeris returned to Lesu and there married Petterin, by whom he had two children. A bit later Lumaeris went away to work on a distant plantation. Petterin divorced him and remarried. At the plantation Lumaeris married again, this time a girl named Mamamlis, and there was one child from this marriage. When his time on the plantation was finished Lumaeris returned alone to Lesu. His third wife and child returned to the wife's village and she remarried.

This time when Lumaeris returned to Lesu he married Bombo, and, while still married to her, took a second wife, Lameth. Both the women were young, and all three got on quite well together. However, Lameth died, and Bombo left her husband to go away and work on the mainland of New Guinea for a white man.

Lumaeris went again to Tabar and there married Keitow. After about a year Lumaeris wished to return to Lesu, but his wife refused to leave Tabar, so they were divorced.

Once again he was back in Lesu, and now he married Lepaei, from the village of Pasawa, but they both lived at

original marriage payment, and it would have all been settled *en famille*, as was the divorce of Nakou and Pakul.

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586 Lesu. They were likewise divorced because, according to
587 his story, she did not like Lesu and wanted to return to her own place.

Lumaeris continued his matrimonial adventures, and now married Bebele from a village about twenty miles from Lesu. They lived together at Lesu for many years until she died. Then he married Murit, who comes from a bush village. She is still living and the two are still married, but she is old, with one eye gone, and unable to work. So recently (a few years ago) he took an additional wife, Kuti, who is both young and attractive. This is his matrimonial status at the present time. Of his ten wives, two died and two are still living with him. The remaining six either left him or refused to leave their own village or island when Lumaeris wanted to wander about. In most of his marriages Lumaeris was unwilling to follow the custom of matrilocal residence. Whether there were other reasons, physical or psychological, which might account for his seeming inability to hold a woman for any length of time I do not know.

SEX TABOOS

835 Up to now, in discussing sexual life, we have stressed what people do rather than what they are forbidden to do. A study of the prohibitions or taboos is likewise necessary to an understanding of people's actions. First there is the most important rule of exogamy. No Eagle man may marry or have relationship with a woman of his own moiety, and the same applies to men and women of the Hawk moiety. So to each man half the women of the society are forbidden, and to each woman half the men are forbidden. It is merely an extension of the brother-sister taboo applied to all
835 members of the same moiety. Infringement of this taboo is
684 the worse crime of the society, and the punishment is death.
762 Usually the two people who break this taboo commit suicide,

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When Nunda was ill (during my visit) her husband was a model of affectionate concern, and Kokala, Pulong, and all the other women of her clan looked after her. She recovered.

Tsangamor was born in the hamlet of Onel. Before her first menses she chewed the sterility leaves which an older woman gave her. She said that after chewing the leaves her stomach "dried up," and that she therefore could not have children.

She had no sexual relations before her first menses, and when they occurred there was the usual feast. But she did not marry at this time. Instead she had many lovers in the bush. She lived with one man from Tabar for some time, and he gave her four *tsera*. Finally he went back to Tabar. Her other lovers gave her one *tsera* each time she went to the bush with them. As she had no husband, she kept all the *tsera* for herself, and acquired a basket full of currency. As far as I can make out, her lack of a husband was due to her not wishing one.

Then later she deemed it wise to have a husband. Her value as a potential wife had in no way diminished because of her previous lovers. She now married Landow, with whom she had no sexual intercourse before the marriage rites. He made the usual payment of five *tsera*, pigs, and gifts of fish and bananas to her mother and two sisters, and also as was customary worked in her mother's garden. This marriage took place about a year or two after her menses. Landow came from the hamlet of Panat, and after his marriage lived in his wife's hamlet, Onel.

This marriage lasted for about three years, when Murrow from the village of Langania came along and took her away from Landow. Tsangamor told her husband that she did not like him any more, and that she did like Murrow. Landow was not cross, and said, "All right, you go." Murrow now

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159 paid Landow five *tsera* and gave six *tsera* and a pig to his
587 wife's mother. This marriage lasted until Murrow died, an old man. Tsangamor said that she did not have any lovers after her second marriage. She explained that when she
159 married Landow, she was very young and went to the bush often, but later when she married Murrow she was much older, and, she added, she liked Murrow. At the latter's death Tsangamor was fairly old and did not remarry, nor did she have any lovers. She now lives in Panat with her sister's daughter. She has never had any children, and she attributes her sterility to the leaves she ate when a child.

To-day she is a tall, straight, very fine-looking old woman, with regular features and bright, intelligent eyes. She is still a good worker, and full of energy, fun, and gaiety. She is an active participant at all the women's gatherings, communal cooking, dancing, etc.

Murra was born in the hamlet of Sapone and had the normal childhood, working in her parents' garden, etc. In early childhood she was betrothed to Teramae, and the marriage rites were held after the first menses rites. Teramae paid six *tsera* to her maternal uncle.

159 Her husband was the first man with whom she had
837 sexual relations, but after marriage she had many lovers. During the day she went to the bush with them, but sometimes at night it was in her house, while her husband slept in the men's house or was out on an affair of his own. There was no regular periodicity for intercourse, but it was approximately a couple of times a week. She had no intercourse when pregnant, nursing her child, or when menstruating. She has four children, all boys.

159 Teramae died in middle age from a sickness connected
587 with his leg, and now Murra married Luasaw. She had no sexual relations with him previously. He had been away working on a plantation, and when he returned after

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Teramae's death Murra told him that she would like to have him marry her and look after the children. At first Luasaw did not want to marry her, because she was so much older than he. But all his relatives urged him on, saying that Nunda would give him plenty of pigs, which she did. Then he paid four *tsera* to her brother and they were married. After four or five years Luasaw died, also of an illness in the leg. There were no children by this marriage.

She did not remarry, and now lives quite happily, to all appearances, with Mamus, her sister's daughter's daughter, who is a classificatory granddaughter. Murra is still able to work in the garden, and is an active member of the community.

Molung is a young woman, probably in the late twenties. She was born in the hamlet of Penguli, and had the usual childhood. At her first menses there were the traditional rites, after which came her marriage to Manaumat, who paid five *tsera* to the following clan relatives: her mother, her mother's mother's sister's two sons, her brother, and her sister. Her father as usual received nothing. Her husband came from the hamlet of Sapone, and after the marriage they both lived in her hamlet of Penguli, where he built a house.

She had no sexual intercourse before marriage, and after it she had many lovers. She remembers six lovers well, and others whom she cannot recall. She has intercourse with her husband a couple of times a week. She did not eat either the sterility or abortive leaves, and has had six children, two of whom died in infancy. One is married, and the other three are still young and living at home. They are all betrothed. Molung seems to be living a quiet, untroubled life.

In Kawitti's life there was more contact with white culture. She was born in the hamlet of Tarengam, and her father died when she was an infant and her mother when she was

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601 **Rok.—Brother; sister (woman speaking).**
Matok.—Brother's wife; husband's brother.
Sagok.—Sister; brother (woman speaking).
Ramisik.—Wife's brother; sister's husband.
Suk or *Oitanu.*—Wife.
Suk.—Husband.
Enak.—Husband's mother; son's wife (woman speaking).
Egik.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.

582 In this pedigree one man is married to two sisters who are both living. The cross-cousin marriage is said to be definitely barred. A man is permitted to marry his mother's brother's widow, his brother's widow, his wife's sister, or the daughter of his mother's brother's daughter. In this village there are several instances of marriage between people of the same clan.

586 587 In almost every village on the East coast of New Ireland there are numerous men and women who have been divorced and re-married several times. The priests of the Roman Catholic Mission hold that the facility with which these divorces and re-marriages take place reacts on the issue rate of the community.

614 162 The clan distribution of the population between Kavieng and Karu is shown in the following tables of adults and children of both sexes. (Appendix 2.)

614 As I have already stated, each clan is divided into sub-groupings associated in some way with the ghosts of the dead. Every person, therefore, has his clan *evit-bung* or *pambang* (north of Fatmilak), *butamit* (south of Fatmilak), his totem, *mani*, and his sub-division, *masolei*, *masele* (north of Fatmilak), *morali* or *misili* (south of Fatmilak). The sub-divisions bear the names of pieces of land, caves, capes, mountains, rocks, prominent points on the sea-shore, reefs, rivers, waterfalls, or other natural phenomena, characteristic of the spot from which the sub-division is said to have originated, and in addition they bear the names of and are associated with mythical pigs, snakes, sharks, or other animals connected with the site that bears the group name. A large number of the *masolei* sites consist of fertile land, which is planted from time to time by the members of the *masolei* sub-division or by people of other sub-divisions permitted to do so. Quite a number [778] of the sub-division locations, however, are barren, and without value. Such places are regarded simply as sacred spots to which the members of the sub-divisions associated with them have rights against others.

Between Kavieng and Fatmilak there are many villages in which the clans have merely one or two sub-divisions apparently of little importance. In Kavieng itself I found the same sub-divisional name occurring in more than one clan. In places like Lakuramau and

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census are compared whenever possible to the results of this genealogical study of a smaller unit of the same people, for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the latter study.

ETHNOLOGICAL FACTS

Before presenting the tables it is pertinent to give a few ethnological facts related to the statistics. This group of Melanesians are an agricultural, matrilineal and matrilocal people, with exogamous moieties subdivided into clans. There is no scarcity of land, which is communally owned, and getting sufficient food is not difficult, although it requires a certain amount of industry. The diet is limited, taro being the staple food. This is supplemented by fish, pigs, yams, bananas, pawpaws, coconuts, etc.

Sexual customs have an important bearing on the statistics. A girl is usually married directly after her first menstruation. A man's preferred mate is the mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or the father's sister's daughter's daughter, and he is thus of a generation above his wife. While the preferred marriage quite frequently does not take place, the husband is almost always older than his wife, usually a difference of about five to ten years. The girl has had no sexual intercourse, although she has indulged in sexual play, but the man, being some years past puberty, has had sexual experience previous to the time of his marriage. There are no unmarried women. There may be a couple of young widows in the community, but it is just a question of time before they remarry. Both husband and wife have extra-marital intercourse and there is no social stigma in having lovers or mistresses. Rather, it is the correct thing to do. The husband of the mother is always the sociological father of her children. Until very recently it was quite usual for a man to have two wives and this had been the case with most of the married men of my community. It was relatively rare for a woman to have two husbands, although it did and still does happen occasionally. Missions have taught a monogamous system of marriage, with partial success. Polygamy still exists, but not to the same degree or extent as it did a generation ago. White contact has scarcely affected extra-marital intercourse. Should the village be close to a mission center (mine was not) love affairs would simply be carried on more surreptitiously,